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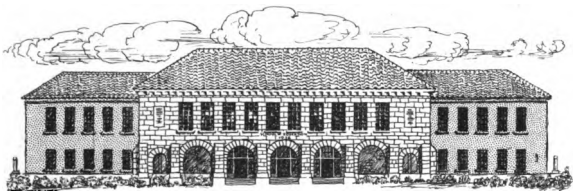


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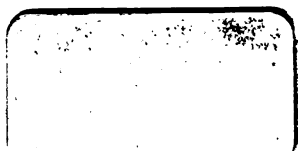
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A BRIEF HISTORY

OF

POLITICAL PARTIES

SANTA CLARA COUNTY

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No. *H-58*
UNITED STATES

BY

J. L. PICKARD, LL.D.,

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President of the University of Iowa.

1892

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.:
PUBLIC-SCHOOL PUBLISHING COMPANY,
1892

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BY PUBLIC-SCHOOL PUBLISHING COMPANY,
BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS.

Press of
Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Co.,
Bloomington, Illinois.

INTRODUCTION.

WITHIN the past decade, there has been a wonderful development of interest in the science of government. Especially is it noticeable in the schools of the United States. In many of our leading universities, "Political Science" finds recognition in the establishment of a "School," or, at least, in the assignment of a chair to a professor of this important study. Colleges and seminaries for men and women give a prominent place in their *curricula* to "Civics." Associations of learned men have established periodicals for the presentation of views touching the science and the art of government.

Policies are advocated which serve as rallying centers for their supporters. These policies are sometimes antagonistic, and the forces supporting them are arrayed in opposition to each other. Political parties are thus organized. The weapons they use in the United States are ballots. It is important that those who are to wield these weapons have an intelligent comprehension of their use. How may this knowledge be better secured than by a study of their handling by statesmen of the past? From our earliest history, statesmen have used the ballot upon opposite sides of the great questions which have confronted them. To

the fact of these opposing forces, nearly equal in numbers and in intelligence, do we owe our existence as a prosperous people. The majority presents its line of policy so modified by the minority's strength as to be rather a resultant of two opposing forces than the line planned for by either. For teachers who are training the forces so soon to enroll themselves in the great parties of the country, I have endeavored to bring together from history a few facts which will present a sketch of political parties of the United States.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF PARTIES.

IN colonial times, *Whigs* and *Tories* existed as in the mother country. The names were given about two centuries ago, rather in derision than from any fitness of the name to the party bearing it. Tories were the adherents of the ancient Constitution of England and supporters of authority, whether of the crown, of the church, or of social life. They were firm believers in the court doctrine of "*stare decisis*;" they were aristocratic in feeling and in social conduct. Whigs were believers in the possibility of improvements in the English Constitution, and were tending toward democracy. The great triumph of the Whigs in the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, led them to rest for the time in matters of constitutional changes, and the parties seemed to approach nearer each other, and were rather divided as to men than as to measures. Sometimes they changed sides completely upon certain matters: In 1841 to 1846, upon repeal of Corn Laws, the Whigs favored as the Tories opposed, when, upon the question raised by Pitt at an earlier period of free trade with Ireland, they took exactly opposite ground. Within the past thirty years, Whigs have been designated as Liberals, and Tories as Conservatives.

Returning from this brief digression, we shall find Tories of our colonial times, *royalists*: Whigs, either

moderate adherents of the English form of government or absolute *rebels* against English rule.

Whigs were far more numerous, but they were not at first harmonious, at least not sympathetic. The merchants and lawyers of the Colonies formed a conservative element in the Whig party, which stayed the radical element full of rebellion. Certain acts of the Crown, which seriously affected commerce and the tenure of the judicial office, so alienated the merchants and the lawyers, as to bring the two parts of the Whig party into close union and to a stout resistance to English rule. The Tories disappeared from active participation in colonial affairs during the Revolution. They withdrew from public affairs or left the Colonies after the peace of 1783.

But after the Revolution, the bond of union between the different elements of the only party then existing gradually dissolved, and by the time of framing the Constitution for the government of the Colonies which had secured their independence, two strong parties appeared.

Before tracing their progress, it is well to note the presuppositions warranted by what is known of the wide diversities in social rank, in religious faith, and in motives for immigration, which characterized the early colonists. According to Bancroft, there were among them "some of the high men of Normandie, but most were of the low men of Saxon origin." The Virginia House of Burgesses was largely made up of men who had never seen a town. Spotswood says: "The inclinations of the country are rendered myster-

ious by excluding gentlemen from the House of Burgesses and selecting only men of mean and low character."

Massachusetts gave the ballot only to members of the church. Maryland, with a large minority of Roman Catholics, was far more tolerant, and hence would not affiliate with Puritans.

All New England recognized the value of popular education, while Sir William Berkely, of Virginia, could "thank God there are no free schools."

The Carolinas "guaranteed religious freedom, but denied citizenship to those who did not acknowledge a God, and who did not publicly worship Him."

The settlers east of the Hudson were equal in rank and maintained none of the old notions of primogeniture and entail, while southwest of the Hudson there were large estates, lordly manors, and family caste. Locke's Constitution for South Carolina, which was maintained for many years, contained provisions for a titled nobility.

Lord Kames, an intimate friend of Franklin, as he looked upon such heterogeneous elements, declared the political union of the Colonies impossible. Otis, of Massachusetts, and Livingstone, of New York, shared in this view.

In the convention, Washington says: "It is too probable no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

The wisdom of God appeared, first, in the one-absorbing question which stayed for the time all personal differences upon minor matters until a new government should be created; second, in the character of the men to whom the work of creation was entrusted; and third, in the fear which prevailed lest all sacrifices thus far made should prove unavailing. The field before them was an unexplored field. No light did history shed upon their pathway. The men were too intelligent to be governed by prejudice; too earnest to falter; too proud to retrace their steps. Hand in hand they move forward, each man alternately drawing, or drawn by, his neighbor into a path differing from that which his prejudgment would have chosen. The majority of the fifty-five men in the Convention were men of a liberal education. Nine graduates of Princeton, four of Yale, three of Harvard, two of Columbia, one of the University of Pennsylvania, at least five had been students at William and Mary, two were educated in Scottish Universities, one at Oxford, and three had been students of law in the Temple, at London.

Earnest as the men were in their purpose, intelligent as they were in its prosecution, and sincere as was their desire for a happy issue, the relation of the central government to the individual states divided their councils.

It was natural that the more aristocratic tendencies of the men of wealth and family should lead them to desire a form of government like the one under which they had gained position. It was not less natural that those who had known only the strong hand of the

power which had driven them from their early homes, should be suspicious of any attempt to engraft upon our Constitution the least semblance to the English government. The one party seeks a strong central government, with a supporting force for its maintenance; the other party is determined to have a government whose sole reliance for coherence shall be voluntary allegiance. One party supports National Sovereignty, the other proclaims adherence to the doctrine of State Sovereignty. Each drew some of its inspiration from the Old World. One loved still its old home and desired only independence without change of the form of government.*

The other was filled with the French sentiment of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. One party takes to itself the name of Federalist, more from the desire for a name than from any fitness in the one selected, for in the principles espoused by the party there is not the semblance of a *fœdus* or league. The other party, from the necessity of the case, assumes the name Anti-Federalist.

*John Adams, in a letter to Otis as late as 1821, says: "That there existed a general desire of independence of the Crown in any part of America before the Revolution, is as far from the truth as the zenith is from the nadir;" the Revolution resulted in independence, but did not, in their view, present the need of a different form of government.

CHAPTER II.

THE PARTY LEADERS.

BEFORE considering more fully the principles of these opposing parties, it may be proper to look at the prominent characteristics of the leaders who were exponents of these principles and about whom the parties crystallized. Upon the side of the Federalists was a distinguished triumvirate, Washington, Hamilton, and John Adams. A no less distinguished triumvirate determined the course of the Anti-Federalists, Madison, Jefferson, and Gallatin. Able financiers were Federalist Hamilton and Anti-Federalist Gallatin. Shrewd politicians were Adams of one party and Jefferson of the other. Conciliatory spirits were Washington and Madison. But in each triumvirate, one man stands forth "*facile princeps*." Hamilton and Jefferson were born leaders—the one a leader in *measures*, the other a leader of *men*. Both were sincere patriots, as their whole life showed. Both loved their country passionately, but each framed for himself an ideal country. One loved her as a system obedient in every part to the great central sun; the other admired the planets, each in its independent orbit, thinking more of the beneficent light and heat of the sun, than of its controlling power.

Hamilton, of Huguenot descent on the mother's side, and of the mercantile class in England by his

father, was, by nature, aristocratic. For the masses he had little affection. With men of his station in life he had great influence, and was a leader of leaders. His sanguine temperament was held under good control. He hated violence even against his enemies, and he withstood often his rash friends. "He loved his friends and so they loved him." But when to his mind patience ceased to be a virtue, he could quarrel lustily even with Washington. In debate, he was without a peer, and his strength was the most apparent when the chances seemed to be against him. Of the three representatives of New York in the Constitutional Convention, he was left alone to defend the Constitution in the State Convention. Opposed by two-thirds of the delegation and by four-sevenths of the people, he still secured New York's ratification. He wielded a trenchant pen, and made constant and effective use of it during the pending of causes to which he devoted his tireless energy. He made a straight road to the goal he sought, for he had no genius for political maneuvering. By pen and by personal appeal, and admitting no possibility of defeat, he steadily gained momentum until his object was accomplished. Weakness had no place in his nature nor in his vocabulary. In the saddle as commander of a Revolutionary regiment at eighteen years of age, fighting for independence; in Washington's cabinet at thirty-two, fighting for the support of the government whose independence had been secured—he was ever the same firm, immovable soldier. "Strength and order" was his motto. Thirteen weak and poor democracies confronted the

administration of Washington. Continental currency was worth only its weight as paper. Debts had accumulated. Some of the democracies had revolted against the attempt of the national government to secure the means whereby to perpetuate its existence. Hamilton's love of order led him to recoil at the possibility of a repetition of the Massachusetts rebellion. His high sense of honor demanded full liquidation of all debts contracted by the Colonies in their confederation. Out of sympathy with the mass of the people, he thought more of the administration than of Congress. It was his firm conviction that the English form of government was the very best that had been devised.

Jefferson was the child of a patrician mother and a plebeian father. His birth was upon the borders of the aristocratic fields cultivated by the "First Families of Virginia." In his boyhood he was admitted to the very best political society. He early saw the evils growing out of the system of entail and of primogeniture, and entering public life, became an avowed enemy of both. Being a poor speaker, he dreaded to face contests. He was a reluctant but a determined revolutionist. When English oppression awakened his denunciation, English customs were associated therewith, and the "great leveler" would be content with nothing less than their complete overthrow. So he allied himself with the common people and became their accepted leader. His familiarity with politics fitted him to become an efficient leader, especially of the masses who found themselves in this free country unable to become freeholders by reason of the system of entail. Fresh

from the influence of Rousseau, as he had spent years in France; in sympathy with the writings of Thomas Paine, who was a zealous patriot; affectionately tender towards France, because of her helpfulness to the Colonies in their darkest hours, and especially towards that portion of the French people just then engaged in a popular uprising—Jefferson leaped at once and eagerly into the leadership of men for the defense of principles which he felt were assailed by the party through whose influence the Constitution had been adopted. He was the more earnest as he observed, on the part of his opponents, a disposition to override the very instrument they had been the means of placing as fundamental law. With abiding faith in man's ability to govern himself, and with conviction as to the equality of men in the possession of that ability, he could do no less than to resist the tendency to place power in the hands of the few. He believed that the English lodestone attracted the Federalists, but was, perhaps, unconscious of the power of the French magnet. His republicanism led him to a disregard of simple proprieties, at times offensive. An English Minister, Mr. Merry, has seen fit to record his abhorrence of Mr. Jefferson's neglect of dress at a later date. That this neglect of personal appearance was at least partly studied, is evident from the fact that at the Court of France he lived quite in style, and that as Secretary of State, he displayed no such negligence. Monarchy was Jefferson's *bete noir*, and he seemed to see in Hamilton its embodiment. Jefferson has been accused of pursuing an underhanded course toward

his great rival, but it will be difficult to prove that he was either insincere or inconsistent. He showed himself manly, when self-interest might have dictated an opposite course, in the stand he took against the French envoy, Genet, who sought to embroil the administration in the war between England and France, and later in his treatment of the case of Talleyrand, who sought by bribery to accomplish what had failed in other forms. Jefferson proved his love for country stronger than his sympathy for France, though combined with his hatred of Hamilton. No one questions Jefferson's ability to hate intensely. He hated Hamilton, the New England clergy, and the Federal Judiciary. It was his way of expressing his love for his country. It may appear strange to some that his acquiescence in measures which he felt sure tended to overthrow the principles sustained by the Revolutionary War, should be given in proof of his love of country. It must be remembered that Jefferson was not a match for Hamilton in public debate. For the sake of his country he refused to precipitate an issue for which the people were not yet ripe. He would therefore bide his time, sure that when their voice should be heard, it would be for a government, American, not English, in form. He felt sure of Washington's devotion to democratic principles, and he would quietly endure the ills he bore, rather than to fly to those he knew not of.

In glancing back over the lives of these champions, it is remarkable to note that the course which would have been marked out for them by observant friends

and ardent prognosticators, was, in neither case, the course of their maturer years.

Hamilton was a poor boy, without the promise of anything but struggling for subsistence. One would have inferred his sympathy with the toiling masses, his espousal of the popular side, his advocacy of a democratic form of government; and yet he allied himself with the moneyed, commercial, and manufacturing classes. Nor was this alliance the dictate of self-interest, for he led, rather than followed, his clients. His personal independence would have led him to scorn an attempt to control his actions by professional patronage. That he pursued a course foreign to all presuppositions, is the best evidence of integrity of purpose.

No less misleading were all the indications as to Jefferson's course. Wealth, ample for the times, was at his command. He was the eldest son, and under the laws of primogeniture, which obtained in his native state, he could have remained at ease and in honor at his ancestral home. He was averse to public speech, was an ardent lover of letters, science, and art. Under what form of government could his tastes have been more fully gratified than under that which England furnished? His ardent love of liberty led him to enter heartily into measures for the abolition of entail and primogeniture, though it took away from himself rights that most men would have highly prized. His leveling propensities were upward, as shown in his support of public education, and in his efforts to prohibit the importation of slaves. Turning thus from

the influences of his surroundings, Jefferson displayed a sincerity not less marked than that of Hamilton.

We shall ask no apology for this somewhat lengthy sketch of party leaders, for they were representatives of principles as no others since their time have been—principles upon the determination of which depended the very existence of our republic. To the consideration of these principles, we turn in our next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS.

AFTER the heated discussion which preceded the adoption of the Constitution, Federalists and Anti-Federalists vied with each other in devotion to its provisions, and chose without a dissenting voice George Washington as President. Washington selects his cabinet, giving to each party an equal representation. The first congress passes favorably upon the amendments promised those who had opposed the Constitution as first presented. The party leaders watch each other as legislation begins. Issue is joined upon the construction to be placed upon the provisions of the instrument under which a new national life is begun. Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, is charged with the important duty of providing the means of support. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, must secure recognition of the rights of the newcomer into the sisterhood of states.

Hamilton knew of England's debt, and of England's plan of providing for that debt through the Bank of England. He proposes the funding of America's debt, and the founding of a United States Bank. Jefferson sees more hope of success in avoiding England's experiments, and in showing sympathy for France. Jefferson also naturally desires a positive name for the party he leads, and assumes the name of "Republican."

Republicans become "Strict Constructionists," and demand of the Federalists the warrant in the Constitution for their proposed assumption of state debts and for the organization of a United States Bank.

The "general welfare" clause of the preamble is pleaded. The side issue of the permanent location of the capitol is supposed to have withdrawn for a time Jefferson's opposition to Hamilton's financial measures, and the "loose construction" theory of the Federalists gained sway.

This question settled, the eyes of both parties were turned toward the contest waged between England and France. The sympathy of the Federalists was presumably with England; that of the Republicans unmistakably with France.

A foreigner visiting this country at this time, was led to say upon his return home, "I saw many Englishmen, many Frenchmen, but few Americans."

Federalists, largely engaged in commercial interests, tended steadily toward "an armed dependence upon England." Republicans, largely engaged in agricultural pursuits, tended toward an "unarmed dependence upon France." Both parties, however, support the administration.

France, taking advantage of American sympathy, sends to this country a representative whose eagerness outran his discretion, and many former friends of France faltered.

Genet was recalled, and Washington issues a proclamation of neutrality. Jefferson withdraws from the cabinet, an avowed opponent of the administration.

About this time each party adopts an organ : The Federalists, *Fenno's Gazette* ; the Republicans, *Freneau's Gazette*. It was "War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." Washington had entered upon his second term without opposition, but is soon made the target for the fiercest shots from the Republican *Gazette*.

The treaty of peace of 1783 contained no commercial provisions. To remedy this defect, John Jay was sent to England with power to negotiate a commercial treaty. Its provisions were such as to give the Republicans occasion to complain of the leaning of the administration toward England.

The calling out of the militia to quell the insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, gave force to the old charge of centralization of power against the Federalists, and the Republicans succeeded in gaining control of the lower House of Congress.

"British gold" was charged then, as often since, with being the procuring cause of legislation, and of executive enforcement of the laws. Washington is charged with writing letters during the Revolution, favoring submission to England, with having drawn money in excess of his salary. Impeachment is demanded. One cries out, "O, for a Brutus for the *stepfather* of his country."

Washington felt that more could not have been said had he been "A Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pickpocket." As Washington leaves office one of the opposition papers speaks as follows : "Every heart which feels for the liberty and happiness

of the people must now beat with rapture at the thought that this day the name of Washington ceases to give currency to injustice and to legalize corruption." Say not that "the former times were better than these!"

Nor was bitterness of feeling confined to one party nor to one sex. Mrs. Washington, finding her wall defaced by the marks of some head which had rested against it, declared to her niece that her callers of the evening before must have been "dirty Republicans."

The two parties are thoroughly organized for the campaign of 1796. The Federalists have succeeded in the assumption of state debts, in the founding of a United States Bank, and in the making of a commercial treaty with England. The Republicans are more than ever determined to resist the centralization of power apparent to them in the financial measures of the administration, and to thwart the leaning toward England apparent in Jay's treaty. The treaty is made the prominent issue in the presidential election of 1796.

France, failing to secure the active co-operation of the United States, preys upon American commerce, and allows her privateers to capture American provision ships. One party would embroil us in war with England. The Republican House voted an embargo; the Senate was tied and Vice-President Adams cast a negative vote and peace prevailed. The other party was ready for an open rupture with France. Six times during a single session did Vice-President Adams favor the Federalists in the use of his casting vote, but even

then did part of the Federalists distrust him because of his known hostility to England. But in preference to Mr. Jay, who lacked strength in the South (since his treaty failed to secure payment for slaves who had fled to the British army, as it still had possession of N. W. Forts from 1783 to the time of the ratification of the treaty in 1795), Mr. Adams was made the standard-bearer for the Federalists, as Mr. Jefferson represented the Republicans.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BITTERNESS OF PARTISAN STRIFE.

BY VIRTUE of a singular provision governing the Electoral College, whereby each party presented two candidates for the Presidency, the candidate receiving the highest electoral vote becoming President, and the one receiving the next highest vote becoming Vice-President,—and by reason of the freedom accorded to electors in their voting for candidates—John Adams, of the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson, of the Republicans, were chosen to the office of President and Vice-President, respectively.

The attempt of a faction in the Federal party to make Pinckney President rather than Adams, led New England Federalists to cast their votes for another than Pinckney, and thus permit the election of Jefferson as Vice-President.

The man most dreaded by the Federalists thus came into a place of importance. Mr. Adams enters upon the Presidency weighted. He accepts Washington's Cabinet, gathered with difficulty after the retirement of Jefferson and Hamilton. He has the moral support of Washington, the supposed support of Hamilton.

But his severest critics were among his supposed friends, who had especial opportunities to gain knowledge of his plans. His irascibility sometimes got the better of his judgment. There was, too, a vein of van-

ity in his composition, which subjected him to criticism. The charge that he acted without the advice of his Cabinet, though hardly tenable, had its weight against him.

It is necessary here to digress for a moment. Washington, in his willingness to please the Republicans, had appointed Monroe as Minister to France. His recall by Mr. Adams and the substitution of Mr. Pinckney offended the French Directory, who refused to receive Mr. Pinckney. Mr. Adams adds two others to the Commission, who proceed to France with Mr. Pinckney and are insulted by the application for a bribe through letters written by men known in political history as "X. Y. Z." This insult becoming known, the Republicans came to the support of Mr. Adams by laying aside for the time their opposition to a "Strong National Government," and by providing for an organization of our naval force. The French Directory disclaimed the acts of their emissaries, and Mr. Adams, desirous of peace, was ready to accept their disclaimer, and to appoint a Minister to France. His Cabinet opposed such peaceable settlement unless the French government made full reparation for the work of her privateers, and then proposed to receive a Minister in such a manner as to make it appear that France requested the appointment.

Mr. Adams, not agreeing with his Cabinet, nominated a Minister as soon as it was intimated to him that such an envoy would be received.

Delays ensued under one pretense and another until Mr. Adams showed his independence by direct-

ing his secretaries to prepare instructions for a commission now increased to three men, and to have a United States frigate ready to receive them before the beginning of the following month.

Peace ensued, much to the discomfiture of that part of the Federal party who sought a war with France. The sympathy expressed for France had made America the field for securing aid in men and means.

The "Alien Law," authorizing the President to send out of the country alien enemies, occasioned such free criticism as to call for the passage of the "Sedition Law," which gave to the President the right to suppress publications, and to punish those guilty of utterances hostile to the administration. These acts embittered the party who opposed a centralized power and failed to secure the support of the wing of the Federal party whose sympathies were rather in favor of England than of France. Hamilton speaks of President Adams as a man of "disgusting egotism, distempered jealousy, and ungovernable indiscretion,"—and again, as an "arrogant pretender to superior and exclusive merit."

To add to Mr. Adams's discomfort came the "Kentucky Resolutions," inspired by Mr. Jefferson; and the "Virginia Resolutions," inspired by Mr. Madison, who had gone over to the Republicans, though at first a moderate Federalist.

These resolutions looked to nullification of acts of the National Legislature. A plan was formed to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and an armory was erected at Richmond.

The turmoil regarding our foreign relations led to the change in our naturalization laws, making a residence of fourteen years (instead of five years as before) a prerequisite to citizenship. This was specially offensive to the Republican party.

While war with France was probable the Federalists regained a majority in the Lower House.

The reorganization of the judiciary, near the close of Mr. Adams's administration, gave the appointment of sixteen judges into his hands. They were appointed just as the session of congress expired, and are designated as the "midnight judges."

He also left commissions, properly signed but not delivered, to a board of commissioners for management of the affairs of the District of Columbia, and then left the capitol, the moment his term expired, without the ordinary courtesy of attending the inauguration of his successor. It was a breach of etiquette hardly possible of explanation, but it marks the intensity of party feeling.

After years of estrangement their last days were those of perfect reconciliation and of firmest friendship. Patriot friends, they agreed to separation from the mother country; patriot rivals, they became estranged over the policy of the administration; patriot friends, they give a peculiar sacredness to the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in the surrender of their useful lives. Upon July 4, 1826, Jefferson and Adams, each with thought of the other, and both with thought of a beloved and prosperous country, pass over to the "silent land."

It has been well said that "Washington ruled superior to party; Adams ruled in spite of party; and now Jefferson appears as leader of a party."

CHAPTER V.

DISSOLUTION OF THE FEDERAL PARTY.

JAY'S TREATY and the Alien and Sedition Laws proved seeds of dissolution in the Federal party. The rapid development of the agricultural interests added to the strength of the Republicans. With increase of strength came the rivalry of leaders.

The election of 1800 developed this spirit of rivalry. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, as candidates for the Presidency, secure an equal electoral vote, and the House of Representatives, after a long struggle, decide upon the election of Jefferson.* Mr. Jefferson finds himself weighted with a Vice-President out of harmony with himself, and one who attracts a portion of the disintegrating Federal party under the name of the "Federal Republican," while the adherents of Jefferson assume the title of "Democratic Republican."

Jefferson, in his inaugural, sets forth, a distinctively "American policy"—of "equal and exact justice to all men, peace and commerce with all nations, alliances with none, support of state governments, preservation of general government with its constitutional vigor, popular elections, supremacy of civil over military authority, economy in expenditure, honest payment of debts, encouragement of agriculture

* The Twelfth Amendment, proclaimed September 25, 1804, prevented the recurrence of a similar contest, since it requires electors to declare their votes for President and Vice-President.

and commerce, diffusion of information, freedom of religion and of the press, a well disciplined militia for peace and the beginnings of war."

In support of Jefferson's advocacy of agricultural and commercial interests, his thought turned toward the Valley of the Mississippi. Spain had agreed with the United States to the use of the port of New Orleans. France, as successor to Spain, permitted the continuance of the treaty. England's attitude toward France and our attitude toward England imperiled the use of that important port.

Jefferson sought the purchase of the mouth of the Mississippi, but finding that Napoleon, in need of funds, was ready to sell the entire possessions of France, and thus give to the United States the complete control of the Mississippi river, forgets for a moment the strict construction theory which the Republican party had adopted, and perfects the Louisiana purchase in spite of the cry of "No warrant in the Constitution" raised by the Federalists, who for the time abandoned their "loose construction" theory.

Upon this point the two parties had in twelve years changed front. The Federal Republicans, under Burr's leadership, meditate upon the possibility of division of territory by a North and South line not far from the Alleghanies. To secure the support of New York to such a division, Mr. Burr seeks the governorship of the state of New York. He is so strongly opposed by Hamilton as to arouse his anger to the extent of a challenge to mortal combat. The leader of the Federal party falls, but Burr's scheme fails.

Troubles with England agitate the people. Federalists, and a few Republicans in opposition, diminish in numbers and influence, and there is little of party history to record for twenty years.

Jefferson, upon questions of construction of the constitution, passed completely over to Hamilton's view upon the following issues: (1) Purchase of territory; (2) Right of a state to resist federal authority.

The author of the revolutionary Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and the bitter opponent of Hamilton upon the military suppression of the Western Pennsylvania Insurrection in 1794, writes to his Secretary of War, a New England man, when Massachusetts resisted the "Non-Importation Act" of 1806: "The Tories of Boston openly threaten insurrection if their importation of flour is stopped. The next post will stop it. I fear your Governor is not up to the tone of these parricides and I hope on the first symptom of an open opposition to the law by force, you will fly to the scene and aid in suppressing any commotion." A convert to the loose construction theory, Jefferson was consistent and never took a backward step.

Jefferson is succeeded by Madison, upon whose administration falls the burden of the war of 1812 and the financial measures which were necessary to repair the ravages of that war.

The United States Bank, once vigorously opposed by the Republicans on constitutional grounds, is now rechartered. While the administration is engaged in war with England, young men enter political life who rapidly rise to leadership. Calhoun, Clay, and Web-

ster become leaders of a progressive movement within the Democratic-Republican party. The first protective tariff appears in 1816. The necessity for bringing the East and the West into closer communication led to the national support of internal improvements. These issues were working a division in the dominant party while the Federal party was slowly dying. The line of proposed division under Burr's plan gradually changes its direction, and at the close of Monroe's second term it is an East and West line. In accordance with a constitutional compromise with reference to the Slave Trade, Congress passes an act in 1807 prohibiting altogether the Slave Trade from and after January 1, 1808.

Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas, had previously forbidden the importation of slaves, but desired the continuance of the domestic traffic, and for this purpose sought extension of slave territory. Those in the North, from principle opposed to slavery, find accessions to their numbers from the men who had by the Act of 1807 been deprived of a very profitable trade.

No distinctive party appears upon this issue, but within the Democratic-Republican party the question of extension of territory favorable to slavery appears prominent. Extensionists gain the acquisition of Florida and attempt to secure also the entire Louisiana purchase, but are compelled to accept a compromise, which permitted the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and guaranteed that all other territory north of 36° 30' should be free, and that all south of that par-

allel should be governed by the wishes of the inhabitants.

For sixteen years after the close of his Presidency, Jefferson was supposed by some to have controlled the policy of the administrations of Madison and Monroe, and they were facetiously styled "Jefferson's James I. and James II."

CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF THE WHIG PARTY.

THE presidential contest of 1824 was rather personal than political. Jackson and Crawford represented one wing of the Democratic-Republican party and J. Q. Adams and Clay the other wing. The latter wing, favoring a protective tariff, had already secured an increase in duties with the support of Clay and Calhoun and with the opposition of Webster.

The failure of either candidate to receive the majority of electoral votes threw the election into the House. The union of Adams and Clay states defeated Jackson, who had a plurality of electoral votes, and gave choice to Adams. Separation now begins. A conference of South American Republics had been proposed. Hayti, under a negro president, was included in the list. The pro-slavery element rebelled. Internal improvements and a still higher tariff are urged successfully. Jackson and Calhoun affiliate. Webster comes to the side of Clay, and 1828 witnesses two distinct parties. The Clay and Adams and Webster party takes the name of "National Republican," while the Jackson, Crawford, and Calhoun party drops the name "Republican," retaining the simple title "Democratic."

The contest of 1828 is therefore a square political contest, with United States Bank, Internal Improvements, and Protective Tariff, as issues. The personal

SANTA CLARA COUNTY

THE QUERREY

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popularity of Jackson brings him an overwhelming majority of the electoral vote.

The "Anti-Masonic Party" appears at this election with a candidate nominated by a national convention. This introduced the nomination of candidates by national conventions. Previous to this date nominations were made by congressional caucuses or by state nominations, the latter growing in frequency.

By way of explanation of the terms "Jacksonian Democracy" and "Jeffersonian Democracy," often heard about this time, it is necessary to turn back for a moment. In 1796 the state of Georgia had sold several tracts of land in the "Yazoo territory." Six years later Georgia ceded to the United States this territory, with other parts of Mississippi and Alabama. It became necessary for the United States to settle Indian claims and private purchasers' rights. Mr. Madison was a member of the commission appointed to make such settlement. A compromise with purchasers was proposed. John Randolph bitterly opposed the report. When Madison was proposed as candidate for president, Randolph, at the head of those styled "Old Democrats," opposed the nomination, favoring Monroe, and opposing the "loose construction" tendency of the party; but after the election of Madison and the placing of Monroe in the line of succession as Secretary of State, the "Old Democrats" rested, reappearing in Jackson, largely of Southern support, as the Jefferson Democrats went with Clay and Webster into the "National Republican party," which was more in Northern sympathy.

Jefferson wrote, in 1824: "I feel very much alarmed at the prospect of seeing General Jackson president. He has been much tried since I knew him, but he is a dangerous man." Webster wrote: "General Jackson's manners are more presidential than those of any of the candidates; he is grave, mild, reserved. My wife is for him, decidedly."

The movement toward a popular election of electors was quite rapid, and at the election of 1828 only two states (Delaware and South Carolina) chose electors by vote of legislature. Maine, New York, Maryland, and Tennessee elected by districts; all other states voted a general ticket. South of the Potomac and west of the Alleghanies Jackson received the entire electoral vote, with one vote from Maine and nearly half the votes of New York and Maryland. The "Old Democracy" of Randolph reappears in Jackson's opposition to the United States Bank. He readopts the "strict construction" theory, dreads centralization, and yet stops far short of nullification in advocacy of state rights.* When Martin Van Buren's nomination as Minister to England was before the Senate, William L. Marcy gave utterance to the maxim, "To the victor belong the spoils." This has been erroneously attributed to Jackson, who is charged with wholesale removals from office on party grounds. Jackson really made less than one thousand removals. The casting vote of Vice-President Calhoun defeated the confirmation of Van Buren and embittered Jack-

*At a public dinner in honor of Jefferson's birthday, Calhoun had given a toast, "Personal Liberty in Preference to Union." Jackson instantly responds with the famous toast, "Our Federal Union, it Must be Preserved."

son's hostility to Calhoun. It helped strengthen Jackson's opposition to nullification. One other side issue had its influence. The wife of one member of Jackson's Cabinet had suffered ostracism at the hands of other ladies: Mrs. Calhoun was prominent among these. Mrs. Van Buren took the opposite side. Still another side issue. Calhoun, in the Senate of 1818, had reflected upon the conduct of the Seminole war, as conducted by General Jackson. Calhoun and Van Buren were rival aspirants for the succession when it was supposed that Jackson's health would not permit him to accept a second term. His re-nomination and his easy re-election in 1832 ended the contest between Calhoun and Van Buren, but left Calhoun an enemy to the administration, with Van Buren a favorite for the succession. Upon the Tariff Compromise, Calhoun joins Clay, of the National Republicans.

Two important measures in our foreign policy come before Jackson for settlement.

1. British West Indies Trade, which opened the Free Trade Agitation in England, and resulted only in partial reciprocity for this country.

2. French Indemnity Claims, which reached a final settlement.

Questions of internal policy were:

1. Adjustment of the Federal Judiciary.

2. Disposal of Public Lands, a question complicated with the tariff, since after the payment of the national debt land sales proved a source of income. Benton appears a strong advocate of giving away the lands to actual settlers. A resolution of inquiry as to

the policy of restricting land sales to those already surveyed opened the way for the noted "Webster-Hayne" contest—a square issue upon the doctrine of State Rights.

3. Removal of the Indians from the territory ceded by Georgia, in which Georgia was permitted to override national treaties and national authority.

4. Internal improvements opposed because of their special and local character.

5. Compromise Tariff, following threatened nullification.

6. United States Bank. Jackson, doubting the safety of deposits, ordered their removal to specified State Banks, called "Pet Banks" by the opposition. These State Banks rapidly expand their issues from fourteen to more than one hundred and sixty millions of dollars. Then follows the "Specie Circular," requiring the payment of government dues upon land sales in coin.

Jackson's financial measures, especially the removal of the deposits, brought the remaining Federalists, the National Republicans, the Anti-Masons, and most of the Nullifiers and many Democrats into so close political relations as to lead to the organization of a new party styling itself "The Whig Party." In the election of 1836 two parties appear—the Democrats under Van Buren and the Whigs under General Harrison. The issues are chiefly financial—National Bank, Tariff, and Sub-Treasury for a place of deposit of national funds.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

VAN BUREN is elected President by a large electoral majority, but his administration leaves little of special political history to record. It must bear the weight of great financial distress following rapid currency expansion and land speculations with the "Specie Circular" unrecalled.

But an undercurrent may be discovered leading to important results at a later date. From the time of the First Congress, when a Quaker Society of Philadelphia petitioned Congress for the abolition of slavery, down to the time of the Missouri compromise, a strong but quiet anti-slavery sentiment existed. It was put to apparent rest at the time of the admission of Missouri, but antagonism between North and South is developed upon the line of extension of slave territory.

Almost immediately upon the attempted Nullification Act of South Carolina, the "National Anti-Slavery Society" was organized. Denial of the right of petition and exclusion of anti-slavery publications from the mails added to its strength. In the last year of Jackson's administration an attempt was made for the annexation of Texas, which had proclaimed independence of Mexico. The Anti-Slavery Society now assumes the attitude of abolition, and as a "Liberty Party" nominates a candidate for the presidency in 1840 and again in 1844.

The "Hard Money" Democrats, opposing the favoritism shown in chartering state banks, organize, especially in New York, an "Equal Rights" party called for a time by their opponents "Loco Focos*," which name was attached by the Whigs to the entire Democratic party until after the election of 1840.

The Hard Money Democrats (Benton leading) succeeded in passing an act establishing a "sub-treasury," the two parties changing their position of 1832. The issues in the election of 1840 were the restoration of the tariff, the re-charter of a United States bank, and internal improvements. A popular revolution placed the Whigs in power, but Harrison's death one month after his inauguration, and Vice-President Tyler's want of harmony with the Whig leaders in Congress, left the party with only the tariff to their credit and the repeal of the sub-treasury act; the re-charter of the United States bank being defeated through President Tyler's veto.

A portion of the Whigs in 1843 organized a "Native American" party, but presented no presidential candidate until 1856.

New York Democrats divide in 1844-1848 upon local questions—the "Hunkers" as conservatives, and the "Barn-burners†" as radicals. The latter are political Free Soilers and follow the fortunes of Van Buren.

Stephen A. Douglas appears in Congress.

The canvass of 1844 was under the Whig leadership of Clay and the Democratic candidacy of Polk.

*Name derived from matches used to relight a hall after the lights had been extinguished by their opponents.

†The name arose from a story told by a Hunker orator in a political speech, of a farmer who burned his barn to exterminate the rats.

The issues were chiefly the north-west boundary question and the annexation of Texas. The rallying cries were, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" upon the Northern side, and "Texas or Disunion" upon the Southern side. The tariff is reduced. The north-west boundary is fixed at 49°. Texas is annexed. War with Mexico follows. Large additions are made to our territory. The Anti-Slavery party becomes more pronounced, and the alliance of the Van Buren Democrats under the banner of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," with the Liberty party, intensifies the slavery extension issue of the canvass of 1848. Cass leads the Democrats, Van Buren the Free-Soilers, but the Whigs succeed in the election of Taylor. The contest between the North and South over the disposition of the new territory acquired, ended in the compromise of 1850.

The compromise gave to the North, California as a free state and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia,—to the South, a stringent fugitive slave bill and the purchase of New Mexico from Texas.

Immediately upon the adoption of these compromise measures with the "Squatter Sovereignty" permitted to territory acquired from Texas, a body of Whigs styled "Silver Grays" assume the task of saving the Union by crushing out the slavery agitation, which under Seward was carrying the majority of the northern Whigs over to Free-Soil.

In the nomination of candidates for the canvass of 1852, the Silver Grays evidently controlled the policy of the Whigs, who entered the contest without any

pronounced attitude upon the subject of slavery. John P. Hale leads the Free-Soil party. Franklin Pierce is triumphantly elected as the Democratic standard-bearer, and the Whig party lies down under the defeat of General Scott.

During Pierce's administration the battle is waged between the friends and the foes of slavery extension. It results in the repeal of the Missouri compromise and applies the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty" to the organization of the Nebraska territory, then covering the present states of Nebraska and Kansas. "Anti-Nebraska" Democrats unite with the Free-Soil party, the larger remnant of the disintegrated Whig party, and the northern portion of the American party in the organization of the Republican party. The Democratic party is left in the hands of those who favor extension of slave territory, of those who were indifferent to the subject, and of those who adopted the idea of making slavery a matter of state concern, leaving all states, old and new, to determine for themselves as to the acceptance or rejection of slavery.

For the presidential contest of 1856, the Democrats select Buchanan, who had been abroad for four years, and out of the popular ferment of Pierce's administration. The Republicans rally to the support of Gen. Fremont, a Free-Soil Senator from California. The Native Americans put forth a candidate in Ex-President Fillmore, who served as president after the death of President Taylor in 1850. This administration was marked by a second financial crisis, followed by the adoption of a high tariff just as Buchanan retired from

office. The slavery question, however, absorbed the thought of all, and was the issue in the presidential election of 1860.

The Republicans are firmly united in the support of Lincoln. The Democrats are divided, with Douglas leading the northern wing and Breckenridge the southern.

The Silver Gray Whigs, (in 1856 partly merged in the American party) come out with their allies as a "Constitutional Union" party, with Bell as a presidential candidate. The quadrilateral contest results in the election of Lincoln. Secession ordinances follow in rapid succession. The confederacy absorbs the larger part of the Breckenridge Democrats and the larger part of the American party. The Douglas Democrats at once come to the side of President Lincoln in loyal support of the Union, together with the northern adherents of Breckenridge. As this is a crucial point in political history, it is proper to present the leading features of party platforms.

1. Douglas Democrats pledge obedience to the decisions of the Supreme Court upon questions of Constitutional Law; opposition to the acts of State Legislatures interfering with the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.

2. Breckenridge Democrats affirm that all citizens have equal rights to settle with their property in any territory of the United States; sovereignty begins with the admission of a state, and it must be admitted whether its constitution favors or forbids slavery. They favor the purchase of Cuba and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.

3. Republicans favor the maintenance of the Union; of the right of each state to determine its own domestic affairs; denounce the lawless invasion of the soil of any state or territory; claim that the normal condition of all territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that no authority exists in Congress or State Legislatures or individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory; demand the immediate admission of Kansas under her free-state Constitution.

4. The Constitutional Union party declares no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws.

The first three conventions favor the construction of a Pacific railroad.

Seven states—South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, pass ordinances upon the abstract right of secession before the inauguration of President Lincoln. Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee await attempts at coercion, as a ground for secession—the last two professedly awaiting some popular expression which is helped forward by a large influx of confederate soldiery.

More than four years of civil war obliterate old party lines.

“Unionists” and “Confederates” engage in bloody strife. The issue of slavery so long growing in importance and in control of political affairs is buried upon the banks of the Appomattox.

New issues arise though old party names will be retained, and the old forces will rally under their former banners, in large measure.

CHAPTER VIII.

SINCE THE CIVIL WAR.

THE election of 1864 was upon the sole issues of the *Conduct of the War*. The administration of Lincoln was endorsed, and the novel feature of establishing polling places in the field for soldiers voting, resulted in a popular majority for his re-election over Gen. McClellan, the Democratic nominee.

The close of the war (followed almost immediately by the assassination of President Lincoln and the installation of Vice-President Johnson in the presidential chair) brought to the front the absorbing issue of Reconstruction, involving also that of Negro Suffrage. Johnson's first words and acts foreboded very radical measures, but he soon appeared out of harmony with his party leaders in Congress.

Three distinct views of the policy of reconstruction are presented:

1. President Lincoln, in 1863, had proposed to Congress the re-admission of states whenever it should appear that one-tenth the number of those who voted in 1860 had established a State Government and asked re-admission to the Union. No change was known to have taken place in his views.

2. President Johnson claimed that the loss of statehood by the seceding states was temporary; and that,

in laying down their arms, they resumed at once their former attitude and should be so recognized.

3. Congress considered secession as an abandonment of all rights as states under the Constitution, and that by the arbitrament of war they take the place of territories, to be governed by Congress until they appear as applicants for admission to the Union, with Constitutions properly framed and adopted by vote of the entire people, including the negroes.

Tennessee was the first to make application, and was admitted July 24, 1866.

The 13th Amendment abolishing slavery (the first time the word "slavery" appears in the Constitution is in the article abolishing it) was proclaimed as ratified by twenty-seven states (three-fourths of the number in 1860) December 18, 1865. In this number of states, there were eight that had acted under Lincoln's and Johnson's policies of reconstruction, but had received no recognition by Congress as states. Inasmuch as *nineteen* was three-fourths of the *twenty-five* loyal states, no objection was made by Congress to Secretary Seward's proclamation.

The 14th Amendment giving freedmen rights as citizens under the Constitution, embodying the principle of the previously enacted "Civil Rights Bill," was declared as properly ratified July 21, 1868, by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress, and one week later by proclamation of the Secretary of State. The ratification of this Amendment was made a prerequisite to the admission of the ten states still held as territories. These states, by act of March 2,

1867, were placed under military rule. They passed into the Union after the Congressional plan of reconstruction, in the following order:

June 22, 1868, Arkansas.

June 25, 1868, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

July 11, 1868, Alabama, North Carolina, and Texas.

January 26, 1870, Virginia.

February 17, 1870, Mississippi closes the file.

Bitter antagonism between President Johnson and Congress was developed in legislation limiting the power of the President as to amnesty, command of the army, and right of removal from office. This culminated in articles of impeachment by the House of Representatives, which failed to secure the requisite two-thirds vote of the Senate. For a time a bitter feeling prevailed in the ranks of the Republican party toward prominent Northern Senators, Fessenden, Grimes, and Trumbull, who could not sustain impeachment.

The canvass of 1868 was conducted under excitement touching Reconstruction and Negro Suffrage. General Grant was elected by a large majority over Horatio Seymour. The addition of a large colored vote to the support of the Republican party in the South was the occasion of excesses in both political parties.

On the one side negroes ignorant of political administration are elevated to places of trust in the state, and "Carpet Bag" rule of adventurers from the Northern states arouses intense antipathy from Southern whites.

On the other side "Ku-Klux" organizations terrorize the ignorant voters of the South.

To settle all doubts regarding the effect of the 14th Amendment upon the question of Suffrage, the 15th Amendment was proposed by Congress one week before Grant's inauguration, and was proclaimed as ratified, March 30, 1870.

The removal of disabilities laid upon those engaged in rebellion against the authority of the United States by the 14th Amendment became the occasion for frequent special acts of Congress, until in May, 1872, disabilities were removed from all except "Senators and Representatives of the 36th and 37th Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States—heads of departments and foreign ministers of the United States."*

The virtual settlement of the dominant issue left men free to act more from personal considerations. Personal hostility to certain measures of Grant's administration divided the Republicans. The hope of regaining power through this division swayed a large portion of the Democratic party. The "Liberal Republicans" form an alliance with one Democratic wing, and Horace Greeley is made their standard-bearer for 1872. Republicans renominate Grant. "Straight Out Democrats" nominate O'Connor, who is endorsed by the "Labor Reform" party after the declinature of David Davis, their first choice.

The "Temperance Party" appears for the first time in National politics, with Mr. Black as their candidate.

The nomination of Greeley by one wing of the Dem-

*Private acts have since removed these disabilities from all whom death had not previously released.

ocrats, and of Julian by the other for the second place on their ticket, witnesses to the entire settlement of the old slavery issue through the endorsement of two erstwhile radical Abolitionists, by their former strongest political opponents.

Grant receives a large majority of electoral votes, including those of six of the nine seceded states whose votes were counted.* All had been re-admitted and all had voted, but double returns had been made by Arkansas and Louisiana, both of which were rejected in the canvass of the vote.

The radical change wrought in the labor system of the old slave states; the wonderful growth of inventions in labor-saving machinery; the return to labor of the great numbers withdrawn for years for service in the army both North and South; the great increase in railway building with a corresponding increase in agricultural pursuits; largely increased immigration; reduction in wages—these aroused an unusual interest among thoughtful working men, and introduced labor questions into politics.

Following close upon "Labor Reform," come financial questions which take shape as political issues soon after the second inauguration of President Grant.

The issue of paper money by the National Government was accepted as a "War Measure," and no thought of its Constitutionality had much weight until the payment of private debts in "legal tender" notes, called "greenbacks," was resisted by creditors. January 15, 1872, the Supreme Court reversed

*Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas cast their votes for Democratic electors

a former decision and declared the "legal tender act" Constitutional.

Congress attempts to retire the greenback currency; declares that the bonds of the United States must be paid in coin; authorizes the charter of National Banks; demonetizes silver (though years before practical demonetization had been effected when the weight of fractional silver coin was reduced). In all these measures the commercial and the agricultural interests were antagonistic.

Democratic platforms favor the "Ohio idea" of paying all U. S Bonds, not designated as payable in coin, in greenbacks.

The Democratic-Liberal coalition dropped the issue. The financial crash of 1873 revived it. November 25, 1874, witnessed the organization of a new party which favored the withdrawal of all National and State Bank issues and the substitution therefor of greenbacks, made legal tender for all debts except interest upon the then present national debt and such bonds as were issued payable in coin. The party assumed the name "Greenback Party."

Interest in its success is intensified by the passage of the "Resumption Act"* to take effect in 1879.

The Democracy of many states approved the "Ohio idea" for a time, but quietly ignored it after the nomination of Tilden in 1876.

Southern whites had regained in large measure the reins of government in their respective states, but U. S. troops were stationed in Louisiana and elsewhere

*When greenbacks were made legal tender specie payments were suspended by the government.

for protection of State Governments recognized by Congress as the rightful authorities.

Upon this measure Republicans were divided in sentiment. Democrats were solidly united. The "Greenback Party" absorbed the "Labor Reform" party, and received strong support from the "Grangers," an organization of farmers with the purpose of reducing mortgages, and of purchasing machinery and supplies at wholesale rates.

The "Temperance Party" adopts the issue of prohibition, and takes the name of "Prohibition Reform" Party.

The canvass of 1876 is a heated one—Tilden, leading Democrats; Hayes, leading Republicans; Cooper, the nominee of Greenbackers; Smith, the candidate of Prohibitionists; Walker, the candidate of "American Nationalists."*

The contest is so close as to give the greatest importance to the contested vote of the states of Florida and Louisiana. Tilden has 184 votes and Hayes 173 about which no contest had arisen. The 12 votes of Florida and Louisiana, if cast for Hayes, would give him the requisite number by one majority. If cast for Tilden, he would have twenty-three majority. An electoral commission consisting of five Senators (three Republicans and two Democrats), of five Representatives (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five Justices of the Supreme Court, was constituted for the determination of the question at issue regarding the two states named above. As it was well known that Senators and Representatives would be governed by

party just evenly divided, and as four of the Justices had been selected with reference to their supposed party affiliations, intense interest was attached to the vote of the fifth Justice. A vote of eight to seven gave Mr. Hayes the votes of Florida and Louisiana and the sufficient majority of one electoral vote. The result was not contested, and quiet prevailed.

The withdrawal of troops from the Southern States, as one of the first acts of President Hayes, alienated the party from their President. "Stalwarts" and "Half-Breeds," names coming from New York politics, are given to the divided sections of the Republican party. The Democrats also are divided in New York, and in a Gubernatorial election "Tammany Democrats" join "Stalwart" Republicans, successfully.

Labor interests are brought to the front more prominently in the railroad riots of 1877, and in Socialistic movements and the organization of an "Independent National" party, in 1878.

Specie Resumption is effected, without the commotion feared, in 1879.

*Their prominent idea—the preservation of the American Sabbath and other distinctive American institutions, and opposition to secret societies.

CHAPTER IX.

TARIFF AND OTHER ISSUES.

"**S**TALWART" success in New York suggests the nomination of Gen. Grant for a third term, as the election of 1880 approaches. The "Unit Rule," which required the vote of a state in National Convention to be cast solid for the candidate of a majority of the members from that state, was abrogated in the Republican Convention for 1880, and the "306" firm supporters of Gen. Grant were finally overborne in the nomination of Gen. Garfield. It was rather a protest against a *third term* than personal opposition to Gen. Grant which compassed his defeat in Convention.

Garfield, with Arthur, a "Stalwart," are Republican leaders; Hancock and English, Democratic nominees; Weaver and Chambers lead the Greenback hosts; Dow and Thompson are Prohibition leaders; Phelps and Pomeroy are named by the "American Party."

Just at the close of the campaign, the tariff is made an issue; "Chinese Labor" has its influence, and Civil Service Reform awakens popular interest. But the offices seem to be the prominent issue after all. The result of the election carries the government beyond the contingency of another Electoral Commission. The assassination of Garfield quickens the life of Civil Ser-

vice Reform. It is not a distinctive party issue, since all parties acknowledge in more or less pronounced terms its importance. President Arthur, unlike his predecessors who had succeeded to the presidency, does not antagonize his party. The expiration of the charters of the National Banks furnished the occasion for making their continuance by re-charter an issue. The tariff had been under consideration and in 1883 some modifications were effected, but not satisfactory to either of the dominant parties. It, therefore, is made the chief issue in the presidential campaign of 1884.

Independent Republicans join the Democrats in support of Cleveland, who had previously obtained their joint suffrages in a Gubernatorial contest in the state of New York and by the coalition had been triumphantly elected governor of New York.

Blaine, a strong protectionist, is the Republican nominee; St. John is the representative of Prohibitionists; Butler is supported by the various labor organizations now absorbing the Greenbackers; Belva Lockwood appears as the self-constituted candidate of Woman Suffragists.

The Tariff Reform doctrine of Democrats and Independent Republicans (Mugwumps) prevails in the contest and Cleveland becomes President. Strenuous efforts to secure some modification of the tariff failed, and the issue is again presented to the people in the campaign of 1888. Cleveland is re-nominated by Democrats; Harrison is the Republican standard-bearer; Fisk leads the Prohibitionists; Streeter is the nominee

of the Union Labor party. Harrison is elected, and party leaders at once frame and pass a purely Protective Tariff Act, which the people repudiate in the congressional elections of 1890. The "Farmers' Alliance" enters the political field with strong support.

The result of the Presidential election of 1892 is known just as this book goes to press.

The standard bearers of the chief parties were known and tried men—Cleveland for the Democrats, and Harrison for the Republicans.

The "Farmers' Alliance" had developed political power during the Congressional elections of 1890 in many of the agricultural states. In two states the Alliance held the balance of power and elected two United States Senators. "Free Silverites" had arisen in several mining states and had strong influence in Congress. The "Farmers' Alliance" and the "Free Silverites" coalesced with the older "Labor Reform" party and with what remained of the "Greenback" party, and, adopting the name of "Populists," nominated Weaver as their candidate. The Prohibitionists nominated Bidwell.

Republicans favored Protection with Reciprocity.

Democrats favored Free Trade or, as their leader chose to express it, Tariff Reform, with revenue as the purpose of a tariff.

Populists yielded to the demand for reduced taxation, for relief from excessive interest upon farm mortgages by the "Farmers' Alliance," and to the

demand for Free Coinage of Silver by the "Free Silverites." They add Free Trade and Income Tax for revenue.

The Democrats and Republicans agreed substantially upon opposition to *Unlimited* Free Coinage of Silver.

National control of National elections, under title of "Force Bill," was charged against the Republicans, as return to "Wild Cat" currency was charged as the purpose of the Democrats. Each party repudiated the charge of the other, but these questions doubtless influenced some voters.

Both parties demanded a free ballot and a fair count of the same. Both parties favored a sound currency.

The electoral vote will be cast as follows:

UNOFFICIAL ELECTORAL VOTE.

	Vote.	Per Cen..
Cleveland and Stevenson...	277	61.6
Harrison and Reid.....	144	34.2
Weaver and Field.....	23	5.2
Bidwell and Cantrill.....	—	—

UNOFFICIAL POPULAR VOTE.

Cleveland, estimated.....	6,750,000
Harrison, ".....	6,500,000
Weaver, ".....	850,000
Bidwell, ".....	325,000

PER CENT OF POPULAR VOTE.

Cleveland.....	46.3 — per cent.
Harrison.....	3.0 + per cent.
Weaver.....	8.5 — per cent.
Bidwell.....	2.2 — per cent.

Michigan alone voted by districts for electors representing the Lower House in number. Electors-at-

large were chosen upon general ballot. The Michigan legislation act was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. In several states Democrats united with Populists. In other states Republicans made a similar fusion.

Misunderstanding of the Australian system of voting adopted by a large number of states, will cause a division of the electoral votes in states whose party vote was close.

It is too early to give an analysis of the popular vote. The successful candidate, however, will have, as in many past elections, a minority of the popular vote, but a large plurality over his nearest opponent.

The canvass has been unusually free from personalities. The conservatism of both leading candidates, as proven by one Presidential term in the case of each, left no occasion for partisan bitterness.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

IN REVIEWING this brief sketch of the political history of the United States, I am impressed with these thoughts:

1. The maintenance of two prominent parties, quite equal as to numbers and ability of leaders, has proved a blessing to the country, in that progress has been along the *line resultant* between forces somewhat antagonistic.

2. Excesses by either party have reacted upon the party committing them in course of time, and in such manner as to effect a permanent cure. Slavery extension is an evidence.

3. Principles have prevailed over mere party names. Statesmen have changed front without change of party name when patriotism demanded. The terrible struggle closed in 1865 gives abundant examples.

4. "Strict Constructionists" and "Loose Constructionists" of the Constitution have changed sides upon the issue of "General Welfare." Witness, Jefferson and Hamilton in 1791, and Hamilton and Jefferson in 1803.

5. Circumstances have changed men's opinions upon the meaning and extent of State's Rights. See Jefferson's attitude in 1798 as compared with his

course in 1806, when Massachusetts would resist "Non-Importation Acts;" Jackson removing deposits or Jackson opposing nullification; Calhoun the author of Tariff of 1816 and leader of the nullification of Tariff Act of 1828. Many leaders in secession become pronounced advocates of the most decided acts of centralization of power.

6. The "party lash," though frequently applied, has lost its power over intelligent voters, and the result of an election cannot be predicted with any assurance. Movements in the direction of a free ballot have become pronounced.*

7. The necessity of participation in politics is not sufficiently realized by men who have most at stake in the issue of political contests, and "political machinery" has become a thing of too frequent use, especially when placed in the hands of men who make politics their trade. Thinking men sometimes arise in their might and remove engineers, but are not sufficiently careful as to the character of those placed in charge.

8. The offices, as reward for party service, have grown in importance as an issue in Presidential canvasses.

9. The severest strain possible of application to our Constitution has proven its wonderful flexibility, and the sober sense of our people, re-enforced by the knowledge of evenly balanced party affiliations, has

*The general introduction of the Australian ballot system has favored independence of voters.

tided the country over many shoals where wreckage was possible.

10. It is interesting, in reading the record of Congressional Proceedings, to note the gradual change from the simple "counting" of the electoral vote to the "examining" of the votes before their counting. The early practice was more in accord with the constitutional provision creating an Electoral College, which should act independent of party dictation. In 1797 the vote of Vermont was necessary to elect Mr. Adams. Some doubt was expressed as to the propriety of counting the vote, but Vice-President Adams decided to count the vote, and thus, in a measure, counted himself in as President-elect.

In 1801 tellers were appointed to "examine," as well as count, the electoral votes. In 1817 objection was made to the vote of Indiana and the two Houses separated for consideration of the matter, but taking no action, met again and received the vote.

In 1821 objection was made to the vote of Missouri. The two Houses separated, one acted favorably, the other adversely; but on re-assembling permitted the vote to be counted "in alternative," since Mr. Monroe was elected without the vote of Missouri, and its rejection could not change the result. In the discussion Mr. Clay maintained that the duty of counting electoral votes implied the right to determine what votes should be counted—a claim sustained ever since by Congress.

In 1837 a similar course was pursued with reference to the vote of Michigan, when Mr. Van Buren was elected. Objections were also made to the votes

of six deputy postmasters chosen as electors, but Congress voted to count their votes. In 1845 the President of the Senate passes over the returns, with seals unbroken, to the tellers, who open and count the votes.

In 1861 Congress appointed a committee to report a mode of "canvassing" the votes.

In 1865 the "Twenty-second Joint Rule" was adopted, which provided for the rejection of all votes to which objection might be made, unless by concurrent vote of the two Houses they should be received and ordered counted. Under this joint rule the votes of Louisiana were counted in 1869 and the votes of Georgia were counted in the "alternative." In 1873 the vote of Louisiana was rejected by a concurrent vote, the vote of Arkansas and three votes of Georgia were rejected by non-concurrence, and the votes of Texas and Mississippi were accepted. Before the count of 1877, the "Twenty-second Joint Rule" was repealed by the Senate, the party control of the House having changed. Then Congress provides an Electoral Commission to decide upon disputed returns, or rather double returns from two states. One experiment of this kind seemed sufficient, and to prevent, as far as possible, a repetition of double returns, Congress has determined by a legislative act that all disputes regarding electoral votes must be settled by the courts of the state in which they arise, Congress deciding upon such cases as the courts have failed to settle. By act of Congress, also, the Presidential election occurs upon the same day in all the states.

11. Since Presidential electors are chosen upon a general ticket, except in Michigan, states having an equal number of electors may show widely different popular majorities, and in the summing up it may occur that the candidate having a majority of the electoral vote will fail to secure a majority of the popular vote. Such, in fact, was the case in the elections of 1844, 1848, 1856, 1860, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, and 1892. In no case since 1828 has the popular majority reached 56 per cent of the entire vote, though the electoral majority has reached over 90 per cent of the entire electoral vote. Since 1828 the average attained by the successful candidate is only 50.24 per cent of the popular vote, while an average of 66.99 per cent of the electoral vote was attained.*

In two instances has the successful candidate failed of a plurality of the popular vote. In 1824 J. Q. Adams had neither a plurality of the popular vote nor of the electoral vote, but was elected by a majority of states over Jackson, who had a majority of the popular vote and a plurality of the electoral vote. In 1888 Cleveland had a plurality of 97,883 in popular vote over Harrison, largely increased in 1892.

While our Presidential elections present at times the anomaly of a man holding the highest office in the gift of the people with the support of a minority, it may be less than a plurality of the popular vote, it is still true that he represents a majority of states and congressional districts combined, as represented in the Electoral College, the electors having received in

*1892 not included, as analysis cannot yet be made.

their respective states a plurality of the entire vote of the state. A state may appear in the Electoral College of one party, while in both Houses of Congress it may appear as of the opposite party. Thus a state may be defended in the executive from improper or ill-considered legislation in its congressional representation.

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